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The impending struggle

Wellington

1910

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The Impending Struggle

APPENDIX TO

*"A Call to the
British Nation"*

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Box 364 BY

E. Borghetti, M.D.

Wellington :

Printed by The New Zealand Times Co., Ltd., Lambton Quay
1910

from E. Borghetti
Well. N.Z. March 23 1911

1011 THE
Impending Struggle

APPENDIX

TO

"A Call to the British Nation"

BY

E. BORGHETTI, M.D.

The following articles are reprinted from the "Weekly Herald," published by the Trades and Labour Council in Wellington under the title "Old World Politics—and Ours," and the author wishes to express his appreciation of the kindness shown to him by the Managing Staff of that paper for the opportunity they gave him of presenting to the public his view on the subject dealt with therein.

*Dedicated to MR. ANDREW FISHER, Premier
of the Commonwealth and Leader of the
Labour Party in Australia.*

WELLINGTON:

Printed by THE NEW ZEALAND TIMES CO., LTD., Lambton Quay.

1910

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PREFACE

THE idea of a Social Evolution based on the test of three instincts as it is explained in this and in my previous work "A Call to the British Nation," has occurred to me after I became convinced that the Individualism of the Anglo-Saxons—allowances being made for the conditions of space and time—is nothing else but that very feudalistic civilisation which obtained on the Continent throughout the Middle-Ages, namely from the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire in the year 800 A.D. up to the last invasions in Italy, up to the Thirty Years' war in Germany, and up to the Great Revolution in France. With the help of history and that experience of past civilizations which for all Italians is three thousand years old, it has not been difficult for me to foresee that, after rising from Individualism to Nationalism, Europe would rise next to Racialism and lastly to Mankind. Thus surroundings and heredity, and not book-reading for which I have neither time nor disposition, have enabled me to present to the scientific world a doctrine on Social Evolution which for its originality is apt to cause a great deal of criticism. This doctrine may be summed up in the following words: Man is actuated by the fundamental instinct all animals are actuated by: **THE LOVE OF SELF**. But as this instinct cannot raise him above the level of the other animals, so nature has disposed that he should be hammered at in order to obtain, through fear and suffering, further expansions of that **LOVE OF SELF** leading up to an ever higher type of superman, namely the nationalistic, the racialist and the cosmopolitan in response to the ever changing conditions of the surroundings. In that hammering at man we should see

the will of the Lord who has disposed that perfection should be reached only through the elimination of the unfit and the compulsory evolution of the survivors, and bow to it.

Woe of mankind if the nations of Europe were not to rise to Racialism, if they were to crystallise in their present policy of militarism and protectionism, or if they were to engage in a war of destruction at each other's hands, for then the yellow race, without a strong united Europe to grip against, could not enfold all that is best in her and civilization would in consequence become extinct all over the world!

By entitling the present work "The Impending Struggle" I do not mean to infer that war is either imminent or inevitable, nor that America will side with England in all cases. If England, for instance, were to drop free-trade, then war would become inevitable and then even America might be against her. In my opinion war might possibly be averted if England, instead of opposing, will undertake to favour Europe's expansion on the lines that are suggested in this work, if she will cause her colonies to drop the preferential tariffs, and if in return for this she asks Europe to adopt free-trade. In other words, England should place herself at the head of the Racialistic tendency which characterises this age and lead now, as she has done in the past. Will England rise to the occasion? With a man of the Gladstone type she would, but Gladstone has long been dead and the new generation is far too imbued with "Darwinism in politics, in society," etc., to understand the spirit of the age. And yet there is no way out for England, either to lead or to lag behind. The next few years will show which way the instinct of life will assert itself with her.

E. BORGHETTI, M.D.

Wellington, New Zealand,
October 20th, 1910.

Open Letter to the Premier of the Australian Commonwealth

Mr. Andrew Fisher.

Dear Sir,—I hope you will pardon me the liberty I take of addressing you publicly in order to explain why, in my opinion, there cannot be peace in the world, and also why I fear that the *White Australia* policy your Government is committed to, is in danger of failure. I will manage to be both clear and short, but if I will be neither do not blame me, pray, but blame the subject, which is so vast and complex.

A glance at the map of the world will not fail to acquaint you with the extraordinary fact that wealth and population are distributed with an inverted order, for those nations own the best lands and the best markets who have a small population or a low birth-rate, whereas those nations who have both a thick population and a high birth-rate own neither lands nor markets, and are practically labouring under what may be called *starving conditions*. Surely here is a fact which cannot make for peace, but for war only, and so it does.

Another fact which makes for war rather than for peace lies in the written or unwritten laws which stand in the way of a broad migratory movement from the overcrowded countries towards the sparsely populated ones. Close to Central Europe—Germany, Austria, Italy, and the Balkans—where the population is 320 inhabitants to the square mile, there lie Siberia, Asia Minor, and the whole of North Africa with a population which does not exceed twenty inhabitants to the square mile, and close to an overcrowded China and Japan there lie an empty Australia and an empty New Zealand. Yet the people of Central Europe cannot migrate to Siberia, Morocco, or Asia Minor because of unwritten laws which stand in the

way, nor can the people of China and Japan migrate to Australia and New Zealand on account of the poll tax. This means that the present anomalous distribution of wealth and population will never cease to exist, but will grow more anomalous still as time goes by, on account of the inverted birth-rate previously referred to, and you will agree with me that this growing anomaly cannot make for peace but for war only, and so it does.

A third fact which makes for war rather than for peace is the growing tendency on the part of the capitalistic class to replace the dear labour of Europe with the cheap labour of Asia. The capitalists form a cosmopolitan class without either religion or patriotism, and England seems to be their preferite home. The importation of Chinese to work the mines in Transvaal and of the coolies in Natal, the Lascars who are fast displacing the white man aboard the British merchant ships, and England's alliance with Japan, are but instances of this tendency which is as old as the world. In fact the Roman Empire was built upon slave labour, and that Empire came to an end when the Germans, who wanted land where to settle as free men and not as slaves, broke through its barriers. Then too *human rights* were against *individual rights*, and so it is to-day. This means that war is inevitable, and so it appears to me.

The last factor which makes for war is the different civilisation the two branches of the white family—the nations of Continental Europe with Germany at their head—and the Anglo-Saxons—Great Britain and America—have come to in force of their surroundings.

In this little work, as well as in my other pamphlet "A Call to the British Nations," of which I have the honour to send you a copy. I endeavour to show that mankind is impelled towards an ideal of perfection by three instincts, that for the preservation of self, of the nation, and of the race, whence three different forms of natural selection and also three different types of social organisation or civilisations follow,

namely, Individualism, Nationalism, and Racialism. The nations of Continental Europe, with shady differences from the centre towards the periphery, are all nationalistic, and individualistic are the Anglo-Saxon ones—Great Britain and America. On account of this the people of the two groups can no longer understand one another, because the main factors of their civilisation such as the family, the school, the religion, the press, labour legislation, etc., and the products of those factors such as the beer the people drink, the way they prepare their food, the theatre they go to, the fashion after which they take their pleasure, their past, their present, and their future, are as wide apart, as the two poles of the earth. I dare say that a modern German in an Anglo-Saxon community is a fish out of water, because he cannot understand nor can he be understood by the people he lives among, so different their mentalities are. Still worse is the case of a modern Italian, because, on account of past civilisations, the modern Italian is fit for a social state such as it will be attained fifty years hence when Racialism will be in full swing on the Continent. This explains why the people of Central Europe will soon refuse, and in fact they do refuse already, going abroad piecemeal as they did in the past, but stay at home and compel their respective Governments to look around where daughter states may be given birth to after the fashion of ancient Greece, Rome, Venice, Holland, Spain, and England to-day. It is under the stimulus of that pressure that Germany has set her eyes in Asia Minor, France in Morocco, Italy in Egypt, and Austria in the Balkans, with the intention to expand thereto.*

There was a time—not a long gone by indeed—when Germany thought that she might be allowed to squeeze between England and America and share with the two

*Europe's expansion will not be effected after the individualistic system which favours squatocracy and precludes the settling of the land, but after the co-operative one in accord with the requirements of the times.

Anglo-Saxon nations the dominion of the world. Teutonism in those days was held up to the admiration of both earth and sky in spite of the fact that, after the infusion of Slavonic blood in Prussia and the thirty years war which has swept away nine-tenths of the population in the Palatinate, in Franconia, in Saxony, etc., and compelled the survivors to undergo a grafting of new blood at the hands of Hungarian, Croat, Italian, Polish, French, Spanish, and Swedish invaders, in strife and suffering such as God only knows, the Germans are just a mixed nation today as the Italians and the small nationalities of the Balkans are. Teutonism was an historical mistake, and Germany's hope that she might be allowed to share with Great Britain and America the dominion of the world was a summer's dream. By forces which work both from within and from without, Germany is compelled to place herself at the helm of Europe if she wishes to expand, and by analogous forces Great Britain and America are compelled to join hands and oppose that expansion if they wish to retain the privileged position the two nations do now enjoy. Thus the antagonism is not between England and Germany, but between the two great branches of the white race, between those who own most of the wealth of the world and those who own not enough, between the empty cradle and the full cradle principle, between Individualism and Nationalism. The destiny of the world hangs from that antagonism because it is out of it that such changes must follow which will give the world a permanent setting.

The first change which is certain to follow therefrom is the confederation of Europe. History records many instances of confederations, among others that of the Greek States against Persia and of the *Italian Comuni* against the Emperors of Germany. It is true that in all cases the confederates reverted to their old enmity no sooner the fear of the common enemy was removed, but it will not be so with the nations of Europe, because now are the people themselves who want that confederation—Socialism—and moreover

because the fear of the Anglo-Saxons first and then of the yellow race, will cause both people and Governments to draw closer and closer together, till Europe will be what nature has meant her to be: a huge Switzerland.

The next change to follow will be Japan's expansion in Australasia. Like Europe, Japan, too, wants expansion. The antagonism between the two branches of the white race will offer Japan the chance to apply to the Pacific that very Munroe's doctrine which the United States do apply to America. If Japan fails to do this such revolution must occur there as it will be necessary to level her population down to the carrying capacity of the land. The instinct of life with Japan, as with the nations of Central Europe, is strained to the utmost. Under the straining of that instinct Japan has quite recently risen above Individualism to Nationalism without going through a butchery, as the nations of Central Europe were compelled to before they could rise as high as that. Ever since her peaceful revolution of last century Japan has carried to a successful issue two huge wars, and has brought under her control the whole of Corea and part of Manchuria. The next war will bring under her control the whole of Australasia, because Japan is the England of the Pacific, and like England's thus far, so Japan's expansion heretofore will have no limit.

But by far the most important of all changes which are bound to follow from that antagonism will be the decay of either contending party: the Anglo-Saxons or the Continentals. This cannot be helped because if the nations of Europe, with Germany at their helm, fail in their efforts to expand, it means that they have been too prolific, and then they will have to cut down their population either by going through a wholesale butchery at each other's hands, or by taking to Malthus, or by sending millions of their workers to America, Australia and New Zealand, there to toil under whatever conditions a pitiless landlord or a shareholder of an industrial concern likes to

impose on them, and be looked upon with contempt wherever they go and start a competition against their fellow-workers. But if the Anglo-Saxons fail in their attempt to prevent that expansion, then England will lose both prestige and Empire and America will lose that immigration from Europe whom the Asiatics are bound to replace long before the present century is over. I know what most people think as to the final result of this antagonism, but I must warn you against taking a too optimistic view on the matter. The inverted distribution of wealth and population above referred to is such an anomaly that Nature cannot endure it any longer. This means that there are forces at work, besides wealth and Dreadnoughts, which must be reckoned with. The coming conflict will give those forces a free play. Europe will expand and so will Japan.

Writing of the Italian thinkers of to-day Professor William James says they manifest a refreshing spontaneity, brevity and impertinence. I want to be frank to the point of impertinence with you: Individualism is doomed!

In these very days a man who knows something of the re-birth of Europe—Th. Roosevelt—is preaching to his countrymen the New Nationalism. Fruitless efforts! Nationalism is not to be learned in books, but in fear, and that fear the surroundings only can teach. Before the last invasions which have devastated Central Europe, Individualism prevailed both in Germany and in Italy. Then, too, there were two parties, one pro Pontificem and one pro Imperatorem; then, too, as with the Anglo-Saxons now, life was a huge misrepresentation because the two parties were engaged in making each other believe that two plus three are equal to either four or six as it suited their party purposes; then, too, as with the Americans now, justice was administered on party principle; then, too, as wherever the English language is spoken, public offices were given away on party influences, family influences, wealth influences, business influences, etc., and not to the best men for intelligence and morality, and then, too, as now, in

consequence of this natural selection on the test of the stomach, society was divided in two halves: below the victims and on top the parasites preying on them. But the parasite is always a weaker being than the victim he preys upon, because the parasite without the victim cannot live, whereas the latter without the former can live and be better off for it. Such was the state of Central Europe towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Then the invasions came, which swept away both parasites and victims and left in the following generations a lingering fear that similar invasions might occur again. It was that fear which called into existence the instinct for the preservation of the social body, and it was this instinct which led to Nationalism—i.e., to a social organisation wherein the natural selection is made, no more on the test of the stomach, but on that of the brain. The difference between the two forms of natural selection is enormous, because one tends to level up and the other down; one strengthens the idea of duty, the other exaggerates the idea of right; one is in line with the law of the eternal evolution, the other is against it.

This shows that all civilisations are built on fear and die when fear ceases to be the driving force of their existence. Their destruction takes place in great suffering for the elimination of the unfit and the compulsory evolution of the survivors. This creates a new form of fear leading up to a better civilisation, and so on till perfection will be reached. The law of progress is through fear to redemption: Hell and Heaven are nothing else but the symbols of this law. Let us see how the above applies to Australia.

On account of that insularity which protects them from external aggressions, the Anglo-Saxons know only that form of fear which is inherent in the instinct for the preservation of self. As that instinct acquaints a man with the knowledge of his rights, but not with that of his duties, it follows that the Anglo-Saxons have developed a civilisation built on Individual Rights. They could not do otherwise. That

civilisation is Individualism. But a civilisation which pits everybody's interest against everybody else's, as the expressions Darwinism in politics, in society, etc.; suggest, cannot lead to the best in life, but only to that very parasitism the nations of Central Europe suffered from prior to the invasions. This means that Individualism cannot last very long. It is history which says so. If you want to do a work that will last for ever you must bring Australia in line with the laws of history by creating a form of fear which will acquaint the people with the knowledge of their social duties, besides that of their individual rights. This means that you must create a new civilisation.

You cannot move too fast in this direction. Before many years are over, perhaps three or five, certainly no more than ten, Australia will be asked to drop the poll-tax. This means that you must build a strong navy. An army cannot defend Australia's coastline, nor keep the seaways free. Mind that in case of Australia being blockaded for any length of time, not only the landlord may refuse to feed the town-people, but he may also rise and ask for the poll-tax to be dropped, because the landlord is by his interest led to welcome the cheap labour from Asia. Even for a fight in India a national army, however strong, would serve no purpose. The rising in India, when it starts, will last fifty years and will sweep away fifty million people. Only after such monstrous hecatomb will India be fit to control her own destiny. A similar fate would be in store for Egypt were it not that order there will be restored by some European power, probably by Italy.

I cannot conceal from you that Labour, in my opinion, comes into power under critical circumstances indeed, and perhaps too late for the White Australia policy your Government is committed to. Australia is a Democracy, and so are America and England. But, alas! history shows that Democracy is the last stage in the evolution of a nation. Three are the evils all democracies suffer from and die for. They

need only to be mentioned to be understood. They are—(1) an ever growing tendency towards city life; (2) an ever growing tendency towards State support, and (3) a ever declining birth-rate of the fitter stock, leading to the survival of the unfit. This explains why all nations fall and are not aware of it. Protectionism, old age pension under the non-contributory system, and a natural selection on the test of the stomach make these evils every day worse. You cannot prevent this. You must swim with the current or be swept away by it. Europe, too, is fast reaching Democracy—i.e., disarmament and free trade. But in the case of Europe the blending of the different nationalities which will follow disarmament and free trade will give birth to an ever better type of man and also to an ever better type of Democracy. If you want to perpetuate Democracy in Australia you must follow suit with the laws of Nature and favour the blending of the nationalities by importing immigrants from those countries which are free from the evils of present-day Democracy.

But fear, defence and immigration will avail nothing to Australia unless the test of the natural selection is changed from the stomach to the brain, because history shows that, when it is not, national disaster inevitably follows. The natural selection on the test of the stomach, in the case of all nations, begins the very moment fear ceases to be the main feature of their existence—i.e., when all obstacles are overcome and expansion follows, be it colonial, military, or commercial expansion, because then the pressure both from within and from without is relieved, with the result that neither the unfit are heretofore squeezed out nor the survivors are compelled to enfold nobler social instincts leading up to an ever higher form of social integration. The ultimate result of the suspension of the law of evolution is always the same: accumulation of the unfit, mental crystallisation, social parasitism, and in the end the downfall. In the case of Rome the natural selection on the test of the stomach began with the expansion which followed

the conquest of Carthage and went on till the downfall of the Empire. How unfit were the citizens of Rome towards the end may be gauged by the fact that the Empire fell, but for many centuries the great event never dawned in their mind!

In the case of England the natural selection on the test of the stomach began with the Great Revolution of the seventeenth century, when, in consequence of the expansion abroad which soon followed that event, a handful of aristocrats have been allowed to retain a right which all kings have long forfeited: the right to repeal a Bill approved of by a Parliament elected by the free will of the people. On which plea have the lords been allowed to retain that right? On the plea that they are the children of their parents. The lords set the example and the nation followed it. Now everybody takes it as a matter of fact that blood influences, family influences, party influences, wealth influences, and in fact influences of all kind, except brain, count in life. It is impossible to think of a more anarchical doctrine than this one which places the stomach before brain. No wonder if in consequence the Anglo-Saxons have come to mistake, as in fact they do mistake, bigness for greatness, wealth for science, and appearances for reality! Why not, if they learned to exercise feet, hands and tongue in order to rise, but not their brain? Why not, if in order to be more agile in the scramble for success they desert their homes and leave it to the unfit to have children? How low people sink when the natural selection is made on the test of the stomach the example of Rome will tell. The Anglo-Saxons are marching to their doom at the tune of the evils all democracies suffer from, and they don't know it, nor can they help it. Let me tell you in all earnest that if brain is not raised above stomach, Australia will not remain a white man's country for long. Two reforms I would suggest in order to turn the present levelling down tendency into a levelling up one. One concerns the secondary school, and I will begin with it. The education should be free, compulsory and directed to unfold what is

best in man—i.e., heart and mind. An education on purely utilitarian lines fosters the same cannibalistic scrambling among men that we see among the lower animals for the monopoly of fresh air, sunshine and food supply, and in that scrambling even daily experience shows that not the best, but those who develop stronger parasitical instincts survive. It is not with an education like this that war will be suppressed, and the brotherhood of mankind or perfection reached. The present syllabus must be enlarged and made more exacting for all professional men as well as for all candidates to the civil service. Then again all appointments should be made with strict regard to science only, and all promotions with strict regard to morality: the former to be tested by competitive examinations on issues of world-wide importance, the latter to be gauged by the number of children. This will promote the birth-rate of the best and broaden the people's point of view from Individualism to Nationalism, to Racialism and to mankind.

The other reform concerns the administration. Individualism's main feature is decentralisation; Nationalism's is centralisation. The former fosters parasitism; the latter combats it. You must centralise. In spite of its tin-pot population Australia is burdened with six Governments and I suppose six thousand local bodies, wherein the wire-pulling to foster personal interest at the expense of the public good is a matter of fact. Suppress the State Governments and most of the local bodies and you will strike parasitism at its very roots. It is the fear of each other that has taught the nations of Europe how to combat parasitism and to develop all that is best in man—i.e., heart and mind. Let similar fear be the dominant factor in the politics of the Commonwealth; let the people know that the squatters and their supporters stand for a Yellow Australia, because that is the truth; let brain come first and stomach after; let Australia have a strong navy and import immigrants from Europe for the blending of the

nationalities, and you will do a work which will last for ever, a work which will be worthy of God.

There are few more suggestions that I would like to make in the interest of Australia, but these are the most important ones, and I take the liberty to record them in this letter as the frank opinion of an outsider who pays a little attention to what goes on in the world. I hope you will not take offence for this, and I beg to be believed

Yours faithfully,

E. BORGHETTI, M.D.

Wellington, New Zealand,
October 20th, 1910.

Old World Politics—and Ours

I.

I wonder whether the grave warnings which from time to time come to us from across the sea have any meaning for our man in the street? I think they have none. For so often has he been given to understand by cables, press and politicians that the world has its eyes on "God's Own Country," that he must discredit all that is said to the contrary, if not resent it. This shows me that the man in the street's mentality is already fixed in a certain direction, and whether that mentality can be remoulded or not, a few instances from the pages of history will show. I will begin with Rome.

Rome was born about the 7th century B.C., and was down about the 5th century A.D. The conquerors of the world were not what might be called a pure race—far from it. The Romans were a mixed race, the result of several nationalities—Etruscans, Sabellians, Oscans, Greeks and Celts—who, after a prolonged enforcement of the Law of Evolution based on struggling, suffering and intermingling, welded together under the leadership of Rome, much in the same way that, in later time, Celts and Saxons welded under the leadership of Normans in England, and various branches of Germans and Italians have, in our days, welded together under the leadership of Prussia and Piemonte respectively.

These early Romans were simple folk—abstemious, hardy, prolific, self-denied, submitting to the discipline of the army and family, and always ready to learn a lesson in the giving and taking of a hard struggle against their neighbours for their expansion

abroad, both on land and sea. In short, the early Romans were always improving themselves and their institutions. We know that the double growth of Rome culminated in a huge expansion abroad in many respects similar to that of England in our days. But we also know that, no sooner had the Romans, in consequence of this expansion abroad, become tremendously wealthy than they gradually took to drinking, gambling, the worst forms of sport, and to finding fault with all, except themselves, to the extent that, outside of Rome, Italy and the Empire, there was nothing for them but contemptible hordes of barbarians. Did the Romans mend their ways in time to prevent the downfall of their Empire? History says No! Nor will the people of New Zealand unless they mend their ways.

Another illustration from a nation in point of time nearer to us—France. Like the Romans, the French people are not a pure but a mixed race. This is the result of several nationalities—Celts, Goths, Burgundiones—who, after a prolonged enforcement of the law of evolution, based on struggling, suffering, and intermingling, welded together in the 15th century, under the leadership of the Franks, a Germanic tribe which gave France her present name. Before or after that date the same welding process came to an end also in Poland, in Venice, in Turkey, in Spain, in Holland, and in England, with the result that all these nations, together with France, were the only ones who have expanded and grown wealthy thereby. Poland, Venice, Turkey and Spain have long been down, and we have forgotten all about them, but history tells us that after and in consequence of their successes abroad, they were all overtaken by the same “swelled head” that we know the Romans suffered from at the end of their career, and went down with it.

After the lesson of 1870-1, France has been trying to remould her mentality, but, alas! evidences show that notwithstanding her lesson, France has been steadily declining. Is not a similar fate in store for New

Zealand? I hope not, but the fact cannot be gained that, prior to their downfall, all nations suffer from “swelled head,” and the curiosity naturally arises as to what may account for it.

Is it the insularity or is it a special idiosyncrasy that accounts for it? It is neither, for that “swelled head” is found with all nations. Then what can it be? It is senescence. The youth of the world will last as long as the law of Evolution, based on struggling, suffering and intermingling, will compel people of different stock to weld in the clashing of passions unknown to previous generations, because those passions are the new forces which make for progress somewhere whilst that progress dies out somewhere else. The day that clashing comes to an end there will be no more compulsory enfolding of new forces, and then mankind will gradually dissolve into nothing. As of mankind, so it is of a nation. In fact, we see that a nation grows so long as the blending of the different stocks goes on within, and that she dies when the energies derived therefrom become exhausted, to be buried for ever like old Rome, or to be recasted like modern Germany, modern Italy, and the nations of the Balkans in a new enforcement of the law of Evolution based on struggling, suffering and intermingling. However, before a nation dies she has a great duty to comply with. She must teach the world that civilisation which she has learnt during the first period of her development when life for her, too, was one of struggling, suffering, intermingling. This a nation does most willingly by expanding abroad, apparently to her own advantage, but really to the advantage of the whole of mankind, for Nature has so disposed that each nation shall spend half her life in learning and the other half in teaching. As long as a nation has something to learn, she grows. That is the welding process. As long as she has something to teach, she leads. That is the expansion abroad. When she can neither learn nor teach she voluntarily effaces herself by taking to that sensual living and that “swelled

head" which characterised the last days of Rome, and indeed of all nations which have gone down before and after. In a like manner a man, too, is born in the welding of two beings—male and female—and dies after he has spent half of his life in learning and the other half in teaching his children the lessons of his experience. This shows that a bond exists which binds men, generations, nations and races together, and that when life ceases to be a duty for the strengthening of that bond either by learning or by teaching, Nature suppresses it. Senescence can neither learn nor teach, hence senescence has no right to live. This is why Nature suppresses men, nations and races when they are old, and will suppress some day mankind when the task entrusted to her is over.

Next I shall try to show how the above applies to England, to Germany, and to Europe in general.

II.

Like Rome and France, England was born in the blending of different stocks of people, principally two—Normans and Saxons—who from end of 11th century went on welding in strife and suffering up to the great Revolution of the 17th century, when all angularities of linguistic, racial, political and religious nature were rounded off and peace established on the three principles of mutual forbearance, industrialism, and constitutional government. The splendour England attained immediately before and after that revolution clearly shows that the parabolic march of the national evolution reaches its climax with the end of the welding process, and that the decline follows thereafter with the beginning of the expansion abroad. It was so with Spain, Turkey, Venice, and Poland, and, before them, with Rome, Greece and Persia. It is so with France now, and that it is so also with England is proved by the fact that, in spite of her steady growth in wealth and population, the splendour which marks the great Revolution of the 17th century has never been equalled yet, nor are there indications that it will be equalled in the future.

However, that England might be in a condition to teach the world her civilisation, it was necessary that she should expand abroad. Accordingly Nature baited her out by displaying before her eyes that which all men and all nations readily take to—wealth. Naturally England could not resist the temptation, and thus she went abroad, not knowing that in so doing she was undertaking a missionary work for the propaganda of that mutual forbearance, that industrialism, and that constitutional government which are the main features of her civilisation.

And now let us see how England's pupils, and Germany in particular, have profited by that propaganda. At present Germany has a population which is fully one-third larger and a trade volume which is fully one-third smaller than the population and trade volume of England, and yet we see that the Germans endure their position quite well. Were the Britons compelled to live under the same restraint conditions of space and opportunity as the Germans are, would they still be as tolerant of one another as they are under existing conditions? I think not, for that mutual forbearance in the case of England is due to the fact that, in consequence of the expansion abroad, people were given a chance to improve themselves without interfering with, or being interfered with by one another. Thus for the dukes, that mutual forbearance is the right to turn their lands into parks and game preserves wherein their lordships might spend their leisure time, unmindful of the fact that the rural population, thus driven out of its farming pursuits, is compelled to stream towards the towns there to rot away in the slums; for the brewers that mutual forbearance is the right to intoxicate the people with bad whisky and worse beer; for the Tory that mutual forbearance is the right to drain poor Ireland of population and wealth; for the financiers that mutual forbearance is the right to conquer new lands and develop them with imported Chinese labour; for the church that forbearance is the right to stultify the people with an antediluvian system

of education; and for the House of Lords that mutual forbearance is the right to repeal of whatever Bill does not suit them. What an irony! They call mutual forbearance what is nothing less than social parasitism from above downward. Naturally the ultimate result of this is that of creating millions of victims. But these victims do not die. They hang on; they even multiply faster than their parasites, against whom they must finally turn for their sustenance, thus creating another form of social parasitism—this time from below upward, exemplified in the numerous charitable institutions which are sapping the nation from below upward. These two forms of social parasitism are antagonistic, and nothing will prevent them from clashing when the day arrives for England to live under the same conditions of restraint of space and opportunity that Germany lives under at present. That this is likely to occur is borne out by history, for it is this very social parasitism which led in Germany to the terrible Thirty Years' War—1618 to '48—when two-thirds of the population perished; and it was only after and in consequence of that war that a force was created there—and for a similar reason also in Italy and the Balkan States—which now permits the Germans to live, to prosper and to multiply under circumstances of space and opportunity they could not bear before. That force is based on the instincts of preservation of the nation, whence its name "Nationalism," in the same way that the other force which is based on the instinct of preservation of the individual, is termed "Individualism." Nationalism and Individualism are not the work of people, but of the surroundings to which every nation adapts herself as a tree adapts itself to the ground where it happens to grow. Before the Thirty Years' War Germany, too, was individualistic, like England is to-day, but after that war Germany has realised that Individualism does not suit a nation surrounded by powerful enemies, and not by the sea, as England is. This explains why ever since that war Germany has been steadily evolving towards Nationalism, and also why,

for opposite reasons, England went on leaning more on her Individualism.* Nationalism implies a natural selection made on two instincts: that for the preservation of self, and that for the preservation of the nation; whereas Individualism implies a natural selection made on one instinct only—that for the preservation of self. It goes without saying that a natural selection made on the test of two instincts cannot lead to the survival of the parasites as Individualism does, and this explains why Germany can now live, prosper and multiply under conditions of space and opportunity England could not submit to without stretching the mutual forbearance of the two parasitisms she is afflicted with to the breaking point. This proves that as far as the mutual forbearance goes, the pupils—and Germany in particular—are rather ahead than behind their tutor, England. No doubt the pupils have something to learn from their tutor in point of industrial development, but who can deny that in many things the pupils are already ahead of, or abreast with, their tutor? Is it not this fact which is compelling England to close her markets (by means of preferential or protective tariffs) to the nations of Europe?

*Throughout the Thirty Years' War Germany was overrun by the scum of Europe and the suffering that went on there finds no parallel in the history of the world. As it was to be expected, the following generations could not forget that page of their country's history, and to ward off the danger of further invasions they took to Nationalism, which means co-operation for the defence of the country. For similar reason Italy and the Balkans have also taken to Nationalism. If the nations at the periphery of Europe, such as Spain, Portugal, Turkey, France, and England, have remained more or less individualistic it is because the instinct for the preservation of the community there has not been called into play, no doubt on account of that protection which their insular or peninsular situation affords. This shows that the surroundings make the people, and not vice versa, as some may seem to think.

III.

Now let us see what progress the nations of Europe have realised from the political point of view since England embarked upon her propaganda for constitutional government.

We know that since the great revolution of the seventeenth century, England has been looked upon as the Mother of Parliaments, and rightly so, because it was in force of that revolution that the will of the people was made to prevail over that of the King's. Following on the footsteps of their tutor, the nations of Europe made their revolution in the year 1848, when Parliaments were established by most Continental nations. Yet we see that whilst no King or Emperor on the Continent, except in Russia, can veto a Bill approved by Parliament, in England the Lords can, for these despots have replaced the King in the exercise of power, and their ascendancy in the country is likely to increase rather than to be curtailed in future, because Democracy is losing ground in England, and history shows that the failure of Democracy is followed by a return to the autocracy. This means that England's missionary work abroad is coming to an end, because the gospel it was her privilege to teach—namely that of mutual forbearance, industrialism and constitutional government, other nations can preach just as well, and before long even better. Then if life is to be a duty for the strengthening and broadening of the social bond by either learning or teaching, it will be difficult for England to justify the privileged position which she now holds. Germany will be the first nation to come forth and claim her share of the wealth of the world. This England will resent, for individualism cannot live but under unrestrained conditions of space and opportunity. Hence war! What will be the result of it? History shows that the wealth of the world—land, mines and markets—always goes to those nations which are better organised, for to a higher form of social organisation corresponds a greater power to dispute that

wealth with. If from the 15th up to the 19th centuries the wealth of the world went to the nations at the periphery of Europe—namely, to Turkey, Spain, Poland, Venice, Holland, Portugal, France and England,* it is because at that time the nations named enjoyed a better social organisation than those at the centre, who were then divided into hundreds of small states; but since the latter have arisen from the chaos of the invasions up to the conception of national co-operation, the scales must be turned to the other side, for to a natural selection made on the test of two instincts corresponds a better social organisation than to a natural selection made on the test of one instinct only. But all this will be better understood if the subject of the national evolution is approached, no more from the old view of history, but from the new one of sociology. This requires that the similitude between a man and a nation hinted at before should be completed.

We have already seen that both the single and collective individual are born in suffering, the former in consequence of two beings—male and female—meeting and blending, as it were, in one, and the latter in the compulsory welding of two stocks of people of which the conquerors—in the case of England the Normans—may be considered to represent the males, and the vanquished—in the case of England the Saxons—may be considered to represent the female. We have also seen that a man grows mentally and physically during the first half of his life only to give the best of his energies during the second half towards ensuring the well-being

*I think that from the point of view of the national struggle for life, Venice, Holland and Poland must be classed among the nations at the periphery, for Venice was unassailable in her insularity; Holland could be made unassailable by piercing the dykes, and Poland, before Russia began to grow on her eastern side, had nothing to fear from her neighbour, the Holy Roman Empire.

of his children, and that in a similar way a nation, too, evolves a civilisation of her own during the first half of her life only to take it abroad during the second half to the benefit of the whole of mankind; and further still we have seen that both a man and a nation die of senescence after the duty entrusted to them—that of strengthening and broadening the social bond—has been accomplished. Now we will see that as a man during the term of his short life goes through three ages called youth, virility and senescence, so does a nation during the term of her long life go through three stages, called Aristocracy, Middle-class, and Democracy. That it is so the history of England will show.

Long before the Normans went to England the Celts and the Saxons had ruled there, yet we know that neither have evolved what might be called a civilisation of their own, for no literature worthy of the name was handed down to us of them. Why? Simply because the Celts and the Saxons did not blend in the clashing of arms, as in latter times the Normans did with the Saxons. England was torn in that clashing of the Normans and Saxons towards the end of the eleventh century. Thus strife and suffering were the cradle of England, the same as with all nations, the same as with all individuals. The Normans, as the Conquerors, had the right to rule the country to their own advantage for might is right—and so they did. This was the origin of England's first stage—the aristocratic regime, which lasted up to the great revolution of the seventeenth century. In fact, up to that revolution the history of England is nothing else but the history of the Lords and of their Kings quarrelling among themselves over their petty differences. But whilst the Lords were thus exhausting themselves in power, from the "vulgar" below new energies were pushing forth, eager to get satisfaction—i.e., a share in the administration of the country. This the class above could not consent to—hence war. What are those energies? They are

the people of the middle class. The aristocracy got into power by the force of arms, and by the force of arms the middle class too got into power, for might is right the same within as without the nation. Thanks to that revolution the middle class acquired the right to send its representatives into Parliament, and to watch henceforth over its class interest the same as the aristocracy in the Upper House would watch over its own.

IV.

The advent of the middle classes into power took place just at a time when the nations of Central Europe were being invaded by those at the periphery, and neither the oppressors nor the oppressed had time, money, or blood to spare for enterprises outside the Continent. This opportunity Oliver Cromwell, as the representative of the middle class in England, was quick to improve upon, by attacking Holland—1652—the England of those days, and thus that expansion abroad began which has not since stopped. That expansion has opened to the middle-class many avenues of success, both at home and abroad, in the development of trade, in the exploitation of the mines, and of new lands, in the industries, in the army, in the navy, and in the practices of the liberal professions etc., in fact it has opened more avenues of success than the middle class could cope with, whence an opportunity for every man of brain and ambition to emerge from the VULGUS below, and raise himself to the extent of his ability. The expression **TO RAISE FROM THE RANK AND FILE** has a meaning, because it corresponds to a fact. How many men of ability have thus risen from the rank and file up to the middle-class, during the two and a half centuries that expansion abroad has lasted? No doubt as many as there were men in the class below fit to rise, i.e., millions. This explains the present arrangement of the British society as follows:—On top an aristocracy which has long been exhausted, below a working class which has been drained of all that was best in it, and between the

two a middle-class, whom the steady addition of new energies from below has made all powerful, the real back-bone of the nation. No doubt the moment this class gives way, the back-bone gives way, and then there must be either a return to the aristocratic regime, or a surrender into the hands of the class below. A return to the aristocratic regime would spell national disaster, because this is the way all nations have come to grief, from Greece and Rome, down to Venice, Florence, etc.; whilst a fall into the hands of the class below would also spell disaster. for that Democracy which is consistent with Individualism, has long been realised in England by the middle-class, thanks to that juxtaposition of the popular elements, whose ascent has been made possible by the expansion abroad. There is no way out. England's salvation depends on the middle-class, and, consequently, the exhaustion of this class must be followed by national disaster. Is there any sign of such exhaustion? Of course there is, for is it not a sign of exhaustion, the suicidal mania this class is seized by? It is fully one century since Malthus' "Essay on the principle of population" has seen the light of publicity in England—1803—and it is fully one century that the British middle-class is looking upon children as encumbrances, and upon parents with children as weak creatures who lack self-restraint, and are therefore worthy of contempt, if not of actual persecution. Naturally, if every man is compelled to realise that, upon his having, or not having children, depends his failure or his success in life, he will choose to have none if he has any brain at all, and then the result will be a continuous dearth of the fitter stock, and a corresponding plethora of the unfit. That this is the case with the British nation I have no doubt. No wonder if that free-trade which is the crowning feature of the British middle-class is losing ground in England! Ch. Mark's doctrine of Socialism is based on the historical fact that, at the end of her evolution, a nation comes to rest upon a certain economical system, on

the failure of which the nation must undergo a reconstruction, this time on the principle of the socialisation of the means of production. I do not believe in Ch. Mark's Socialism, at least so far as the Continent is concerned, but I know that England is built on free-trade, and I do believe that the failure of free-trade will be followed by the collapse of the nation.

And now let us see how the above applies to Germany.

Germany has no history worthy of the name up to the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire—800 A.D.—of which Austria-Hungary gradually became the leading part. A chaotic congeries of different peoples as the Holy Roman Empire was, divided into nearly 400 states of all sizes, could not grow into one powerful entity as its neighbours, Poland, Turkey, France, Sweden, and also far Spain and England did, whence its inability to expand, whence too, that medievalistic civilisation—Individualism without expansion—into which the Empire sank more and more, and could never emerge from, but by going through the greatest drama the world has ever witnessed: THE THIRTY YEARS WAR.

The thirty years war, was for Germany a tomb and a cradle. It was a tomb wherein medievalism i.e., individualism without expansion was drowned in a sea of blood, and it was also a cradle because a new civilisation—Nationalism—was born therefrom. With the birth of this new civilisation, modern Germany begins.

From the outset we see that modern Germany, too, is born in pain, like England, but six centuries later, and consequently Germany is six centuries younger than England. Now we shall see how the three classes, namely, the aristocratic, the middle-class, and the Democratic Regime apply to Germany, and how they do compare with similar classes in England.

The aristocratic regime of modern Germany extends from the rising of Prussia, soon after the thirty years'

war up to the revolution of 1848, when constitutional government was exacted by, and soon after granted to the people. But what a difference between the aristocratic regime in Prussia and in England! In England the nobles are allowed to grow at the expense of the State, whereas in Prussia they are forced to serve the State by doing duty in the army, under their kings, against the enemies of the Fatherland. Thus began that social bond—nationalism—which, ever since the rising of Prussia went on strengthening and broadening till it took in the whole of Germany. In connection with this I like to quote what Bismark himself once said: "From the outset the Hohenzollern established a real monarchy and subdued the refractory nobles of the States. My family belongs to the aristocracy that lived in the left bank of the Elbe, and fought on the side of the sovereign power to coerce the nobles on the right bank. In every other part of Germany the aristocracy maintained an independence incompatible with the existence of any State. In Prussia alone it learnt to yield to the State and serve it. The sovereigns were absolute rulers but their absolutism served the State and not their own persons. They sometimes hanged even gentlemen of rank to show that in Prussia no man might infringe the law. Thus Prussia has grown."

Such was the aristocratic regime in Prussia. No privileged class there, but one ruler alone—the King, and one duty for all—the defence of the State.

In the year 1848 the whole of Europe was suddenly convulsed by a revolt which brought into power the middle class. The same as in England, so also on the Continent the middle class got into power in force of a revolution. The only difference between the two great events which mark the beginning of a constitutional Government in England and on the Continent is that, on the Continent the national idea is grafted on the economical question, whereas in England it was not so. This is quite in accord with the difference of time and space the two civilisations—individualism and nationalism—were born. No sooner had the middle-classes got into power in Germany than

it began to turn the administration of the country to its own advantage. But what a difference here, too! In England the advent of the middle class into power is soon followed by a never-ceasing expansion abroad, whereas on the Continent, and particularly in Germany, in Italy, and the Balkans, after the struggle for the national unity—1848-70—the middle-classes awake to the fact that, the ways to the expansion are blocked by the nations at the periphery who defend their monopolies with all their power, for might is right the same within as without the nation. This accounts for the society in Germany being organised as follows:—On top an aristocracy, which has not been allowed to grow to the extent of its ambition, as similar class has been in England, and is therefore dissatisfied. Immediately below is the middle class which has carried on the gigantic task of uniting the Fatherland only to find that the wealth of the world—lands, mines, and markets—is insured to the advantage of other nations, and is, therefore, dissatisfied; and further below is the huge class of the workers also dissatisfied, because the chances to rise from the ranks and files are denied even to the most talented of its members. Thus the dissatisfaction is general in Germany, but with no class is that dissatisfaction greater than with the class below, for the other two classes control the political power and recoup themselves for the expansion they cannot get, at the expense of the workers by enforcing upon them those protective tariffs which make the necessities of life extremely dear. Naturally class government calls for class antagonism. Before the antagonism was between the aristocracy and the middle class, now that antagonism is between these two classes and the class below them—that of the workers. What will this antagonism lead to? Will the workers, i.e., socialism, get into power by force of arms as the middle class did both in England and on the Continent?

V.

To realise the nature and extent of this antagonism the British reader should bear in mind that the work-

ing-class in Germany, as well as in all Europe, is or will soon be, all powerful for the following reasons: Because it has not been weakened by that steady emerging from the rank, and file, of its best elements as the same class in England has been on account of the expansion abroad above referred to; because the high pressure the whole nation labours under for want of expansion is greater, and consequently the elimination of the unfit and the evolution of the survivors is also greater below than above; because that elimination and that evolution, during two and a-half centuries of national struggle for existence, have worked out a mentality fit to grapple with all problems of national as well as of international character; because the workers are more prolific than either of the two ruling classes, for the reason that love, i.e., all that is good increases in those who suffer and struggle and dies out in those who suffer and struggle not; because the aristocracy of the brain—the intellectualists—which, on the Continent carries as much weight as the aristocracy of blood does carry in England, stands by the workers and makes their cause popular by the means of art, music, literature, and particularly the drama wherein the poor man and the poor woman striving to rise are as familiar figures as the duke and the drunkard—the parasite and his victim—are familiar figures in the English drama; because after all what the workers want is for the purpose of raising their moral and economical status, and on this account they get the support of the liberal thinking people of all classes.

All this goes to show that the workers on the Continent are what the middle-class is, or better, used to be to England, namely, the backbone of the nation, with this difference, however, that the former have a goal to live and struggle for, whereas the latter has long touched that democracy which once constituted its goal, and now is dissolving itself in all-round parasitism. It also explains what different meaning must be attached to a low or high birth-rate

of each class in England and on the Continent! The appended table will give an idea of the workers ever-increasing strength in Germany:—

Votes cast by the Socialist Party at the general election in Germany—

Year.	Votes.
1881	312,000
1890	1,427,000
1893	1,727,000
1898	2,107,000
1906	3,250,000

If there is one thing the above figures unmistakably suggest it is that in the rough sea of the German political life Socialism is the rising tide, and that if the tide is not checked in time the monopolies the ruling classes do enjoy now will be submerged thereunder. But how to check that tide if the moral world is ruled by the same inexorable laws the physical world is ruled by! For the ten years—1880-90—Bismarck bent himself to curb Socialism, but he failed and the socialistic legislation devised thereafter, with the same view has also failed as the above figures clearly show. What is to be done? Will the ruling classes tamely bend their heads and submit to the inevitable? It would mean a suicide, and no collective body has ever committed suicide nor is it to be expected that the ruling classes in Germany will. Moreover, do they not control the power? And if they do control the power, why not turn it to their advantage? The instinct of life, stretched to the utmost, is the factor of all progress, and that instinct is well up in Germany where the pressure the whole nation labours under, allows only the very best to survive. It is under the stimulus of that instinct that the ruling-classes there have come to realise that, if Socialism is to be checked at all, a chance should be offered to the best workers to gradually emerge from the ranks and files, because then Socialism would lose as much of its strength as the middle-class would gain by. That is what England has done by the means

of her expansion abroad, and before England Rome, Greece and, in fact, all nations did, and this is what Germany should also do. But how to expand abroad if the world is enveloped in a thick net of monopolies which insures the best land, markets, and mines to the advantage of the nations at the periphery? Would England tamely acquiesce to that expansion? Here, too, the instinct of life, stretched to the utmost, has shown the German ruling classes that where the pressure inside is not high enough to squeeze the unfit out of existence and to enforce evolution on the survivors, there might be the appearances of strength, but not real strength, and that this was the case with England there could be no doubt for two and a-half centuries of expansion abroad had removed there all pressure from below, thus allowing the ruling classes to help themselves in a surrounding of predigested food which strongly remind the tap-worm in the intestines of its victim. Convinced of this the German ruling classes had only one thing to do: to direct their attention towards the sea and then the Dreadnoughts came.

How did England view the situation when the Anglo-German antagonism became too self-evident for her public men to deny it? It is safe to say that she viewed it with the bewilderment of a man who has been sleeping sound and long and is suddenly awakened to the realities of life. Indeed, England is so accustomed to see the nations of Europe bent on the defence of their frontiers that she cannot make out how they could suddenly turn their attention to the sea and build Dreadnoughts. "The Kaiser should think of something better than doing war on his own blood," cried out someone the other day in Canada; and similar nonsense, is by no means seldom heard in the mouths of respectable persons throughout the Empire. And no wonder, if only the other day Sir Ed. Grey, in giving an account to the House of Parliament of Europe's preparations for war, spoke of the rebarbarisation of Europe! Was Sir Ed. Grey right? Not in the light of history, for would

he call barbarians the Celts, the Saxons and the Normans because they took possession of the British Isles, or the Franks, the Goths, and the Dorians, because they took possession of Gaul, Italy, and Greece, by force of arms? Certainly not for future events have shown that those conquerors were the bearers of a better civilisation. What was true in the past is true to-day. Life is a struggle, and the struggle is directed to take possession of the wealth of the world—land, mines, and markets—and turn it to one's own profits. Those who succeed are the best race, but those who are left in the cold and rightly smart under the humiliation of being looked upon as inferior races will go on making all the time ever greater efforts to redeem themselves, and those efforts should be blessed because in them lies the reason of all progress. The armaments Sir Ed. Grey deprecate against as worthy of barbarians are Europe's efforts to get that share of the wealth of the world which her growing population entitles her to, and even if those efforts were to lead to war—as most likely they will—still Sir Ed. Grey cannot state a priori whether the rebarbarisation of Europe or a greater civilisation will result therefrom. The abolition of war, says Ellis Barker, in his work, "Great and Greater Britain," would be a misfortune to mankind, because it would lead, not to the survival of the fittest and strongest, but to the survival of the slugs and the unfit, and therefore to the degeneration of the human race." However, there is no likelihood that war will soon be abolished for, as long as a man, a nation, and a race draws a line against all others, so long those who are discriminated against will go on preparing for war, and so it is that war, in one form or another, will go on till through the elimination of the unfit, and the compulsory evolution of the survivors in the individual, national and racial struggle for existence, perfection will be reached. Then only mankind will be one family and peace will reign on the earth, because then, love, i.e., all that is

good, will have replaced pride, ignorance and selfishness in the heart of all men.

How did the nations of Europe view the Anglo-German antagonism? There can't be the least doubt that they viewed it with a sense of relief and of hope; of relief, because, since war cannot be suppressed, they all prefer a war by sea to a war by land for the reason that the former represents the greatest result with the least sacrifice; whereas the latter represents the greatest sacrifice for the least result; and with hope because all nations on the Continent are fast reaching that high pressure Germany labours under now, and in this antagonism they all expect to find the safety valve which they need to ~~conjure up~~ *relieve the pressure of* *conjure up Socialism.*

This shows how easily the Anglo-German antagonism may be turned into an Anglo-Continental antagonism, and that it will, I have no doubt, for the nations of Europe are fast reaching the stage that requires expansion, and England is the only power which does not consent them to expand.

This is the true nature of the Anglo-German antagonism; a conflict of interest as well as of civilisation, because interest and civilisation are so interrelated that they cannot bear being separated. Any other interpretation of the Anglo-German antagonism is fanciful, and bears not the test of criticism. England is built on individualism, Europe is built on nationalism, and individualism and nationalism represent such antagonism of interest and ideals that there cannot be room in this world for the two civilisations: war is inevitable. That war will decide of Europe's future, for if Europe fails to provide that expansion which alone can give the workers satisfaction, then sooner or later the workers will get into power as a class with the main plank of their platform: the socialisation of the means of production, but if Europe succeed, then Socialism will dissolve itself into a large democracy.

VI.

By Socialism I mean the advent into power of the workers by force of arms—if it is not possible otherwise—to carry out the main plank of their platform: the socialisation of the means of production; and by Democracy I mean the gradual rising of the workers, according to their fitness, when the expansion abroad throws open new avenues to success both at home and abroad, with disarmament and free-trade as a corollary. Will Socialism prevail on the Continent or will Democracy? Let us see.

Upon emerging from her period of wars—1864-'70—Germany found herself in possession of a most powerful weapon: the army, and it was natural that her first thought should turn to this weapon as a means to attain that expansion which she wants so much. The army was created in Prussia to defend the country with, and then perfected by the middle-class, after the year 1848, in order to bring about a unity of Fatherland. The two goals having been reached the army ought to undergo some changes to meet the requirements of the times. But here is where the greatest difficulty is met with because an institution, whatever it be, is a living being, and like all living beings it clings to life and tends to become parasitical. There is no doubt, that in consequence of her surroundings, Germany had received a tremendous impulse towards militarism, and the effects of that impulse could not spend themselves away in no time, but only slowly, according to the law of inertia, which applies to the physical as well as to the moral world. However it may be the fact is that, with a most powerful army at her disposal, and with eleven centuries of history to look back, after her easy victories of '64, '66, and '70, Germany might well let loose the bridle of her imagination and think, perhaps, that she could and even ought to revive the Holy Roman Empire as it was in its early days, and thus expand on land first and then on sea, at the expense of all Europe. With France rapidly decaying, with Italy slowly reviving after her wars of independence, and Austria which seemed to be at the mercy of the German element that

is in her, Germany must have entertained a dream like this, and if she has I do not blame her, nor do I pity the would-be victims, for I know that, after all, men as well as nations must get what they deserve.

To foster their ends the ruling classes in England resort to misrepresentation by the means of those cables which feed both the press and the people who rely on them; in France they appeal to sentiment, in Germany to science. This is quite in accord with the fundamental character of the three nations, hence it is not to be wondered at if, in pursuance of their policy of expansion on the Continent the German ruling classes, or rather the intellectualists who represent them, have for the last forty years lent themselves to misconstrue history, sociology, anthropology, and statistics, to prove that the Germans are the best people in Europe and therefore entitled to rule.

A few quotations will suffice to prove that it is so. I will begin with Bismarck, because Bismarck was to Germany what Oliver Cromwell was to England, namely, the best representative of the middle-class in his own country. "It may seem fanciful to you—once said Bismarck—if I say that it is with nations as with the rest of nature, some are masculine, others are feminine. The Teutons are so masculine that by themselves they are absolutely intractable. Each man lives after his own good pleasure. If they are welded together they are like a flood that carries all before it. The Slavs and Celts, on the other hand, are feminine. On their own initiative they accomplish nothing, they have no procreative force. The Russians can do nothing without the Germans. They cannot work, but they are easily led astray. They have no power of resistance, but simply follow their master. The Celts again are nothing but a passive mass. Not till the Teutons appeared on the scene did nations, in the political sense, arise from the intermixture. So it was with the English, with the Spaniards, as long as the Goths took the lead; with the French as long as they were directed by the Frankish element. The French Revolution thrust it forth, and so gave the

preponderance, once more, to the Celtic type. The Westphalians and Swabians are genuine Teutons with but little admixture, and that is why they are so slow to accustom themselves to Government. If they are seized upon and possessed by a national idea they will weld rocks together. But that seldom happens. As a rule every village and every peasant is for itself or himself alone. The Prussians are Teutons with strong admixture of Slavonic element. That is the principal reason why they are politically serviceable. They have something of the docility of the Slavonic character and something of the strength and virility of the Teutons."

Who on carefully reading the above can miss the point Bismarck is driving at, namely that the Germans should establish over both Celts and Slavs a parasitical aristocracy similar to that the Franks have established at the expense of the Celts, and the Normans at the expense of the Saxons, in France and in England respectively? No doubt Bismarck is right in stating that some nations are masculine and others are feminine, but he is wrong when he pretends to believe that the Teutons have always played the masculine part, for we know that in England and in Poland the parts were inverted, and yet the result was just as good there, if not better than either in France or Spain where the Teutons have prevailed. As Bismarck is frank enough to admit that the Teutons are too parochialist—read too individualistic—to be seized upon and possessed by a national idea, so the following question becomes pertinent: Does Bismarck fail to realise that all the progress which Germany has achieved all along the martyrdom of her existence consists in her evolution from Individualism to Nationalism? Does he remember what Germany was throughout the middle ages when every village, town and province stood and fought either *pro Pontificem* or *pro Imperatorem*? I do remember what Italy was in those days for Italy, where so much German blood had flowed to with Goths, Longobards, Franks and other Germanic tribes, has also a history which strongly re-

sembles that of Germany, and I do believe that, without a further infusion of new blood in strife and suffering for the elimination of the unfit and the evolution of the survivors during the invasions of the XVI., XVII., and XVIII. centuries Italy would ~~have~~ be individualistic, and so would be Germany without the Thirty years war and that admixture of Slavonic blood which has created Nationalism in Prussia and then in Germany. Indeed when I look back to Greece and Rome where nationalism obtained first without the concurrence of the German blood, and then to Poland, France, Spain, and England where Nationalism in its simplest form—political unity—obtained next with the concurrence of that blood, and finally to Italy and more still to Germany, where Nationalism in its highest form—natural selection on the test of the brain—has obtained last only after an infusion of new blood at the price of more suffering, I must come to the conclusion that, of all the nationalities of Europe, the Germans are the slowest and also the hardest to develop those social instincts which broaden and strengthen the social bond, and thus help to create an ever higher form of civilisation.

VII.

Like Bismarck, Langbehn twists history to suit his purposes. He pretends to believe that Venice was inhabited by Germans from Lower Austria, whereas we know that Venice was inhabited principally by Slavs from Dalmatia and by Greeks from Byzantium, with but a sprinkle of German blood, if any. But Venice was the noblest city in Europe, hence Langbehn must endeavour to prove that Venice was inhabited by German settlers, and so he does against all evidences of history. Like many other German intellectualists Langbehn hates Rome for no other reason that Rome stood for universalism, whereas Germanism always stood for individualism. German individualism is strong in him, it is an heredity he cannot part with, nay, he revels in it whence his hatred for Romanism as it transpires from the following sentence: Venice, the noblest city of

all Europe, is the only spot where the pure German and Greek spirits have come in touch independently of Romanism. For Von Jhening Romanism is synonymous of utilitarianism, and Germanism is synonymous of morality; hence he cannot help hating Romanism, and then he concludes: all that is foreign is false, let us learn!

Von Sybel holds that Germany must be up to the high mission nature has entrusted her with, that of carrying the torch-light of progress throughout the world, and Von Treitschke explains that Germanic geniuses have always been good, and bad only the non-Germanic ones. Still, Von Treitschke cannot help being fair to Cavour, for he writes: I have long been struck by the Italian statesman. His practical genius is simply fathomless. He certainly does not resemble our great poets and thinkers, but no doubt, before the mysteries of nature he is, in his way, as great as Goethe and Kant.

Professor Pleiderer, of the University of Berlin, finds that the religion of the Germans suggest an intellectual struggle compared to which the religion of the Italioti with their *sacer horror*, described by Tacito, is a mere superstition. A comparative work on the languages and literatures of different nations leads Professor R. M. Meyer, of the same university, to infer that the Germans stand for higher ideals than all the other nations.

In a like manner I might go on and quote scores of German intellectualists whose object is evidently directed to establish the superiority of the Germans over their kinsmen on the Continent, but the work which most effectively sums up the mentality of the ruling classes in Germany is, no doubt, Houston Stewart Chamberlain's: The beginnings of the XIX Century. According to this Germanised Englishman history is made by the genial, fair-haired, long-headed peoples of Northern Europe—read Prussia—because these only are gifted with an inborn pre-creative force. Thus, if during the middle ages, Italy has developed a high civilisation that was due to Goths, Longobards, Franks, etc., who have given

birth to a new Germany beyond the Alps—Germanic Italy. Chamberlain is sure that the fair-haired, long-headed Goths, etc., did not blend with the brunette women of Italy, but held them in contempt as it becomes to superior beings, and so it is that Dante, Raffael, Vinci, the Renaissance and Florence, such as Giotto, Donatello, Michelangelo have made it are pure creations of Germanic individualism uninfluenced by Romanism, and, in fact, he says, when the conquerors allowed their pure blood to become contaminated by blending with the vanquished, then Germanic Italy began to decay with second rate men such as Bruno, Galilei, and Campanella. Chamberlain's conclusion are that the talented Italian nation of to day is dying for want of those ideals which are the privilege of the fair-haired dolichocephali of Northern Europe, and that the beginnings of the XIX Century are the work of pangermanism.

Apart from the absurdity that Teutons and Romans could live for centuries, side by side, on the same soil, without blending and without, in any way, influencing one another, an absurdity this to which the structure of the Italian language gives the lie, the fact remains that the fair-haired, long headed Saxons who went to England have evolved no civilisation worthy of the name, and that even in their own country the Teutons have not evolved a civilisation which can compare with that of Venice, Florence, Genova, Pisa, etc. Chamberlain has no explanation for these two facts, nor does he bother about it because his object is that of pandering to the ruling classes who thus get what they want—flattery. Chamberlain may write volumes, if he so likes, to deceive himself and his readers *ad infinitum*, but he will never succeed to deceive history, and history says that progress has followed wherever fair or brunette, long-headed or round-headed people have clashed and blended in strife and suffering for the elimination of the unfit and the compulsory evolution of the survivors. The harder the clashing and the greater the progress. In Italy the blending of the Teutons with the Romans followed the conquest and soon

blossomed into a new language, and also a new Gospel—the Renaissance. In England the Saxons did not blend with the Celts, who took to the west, and that is why they have evolved no civilisation, till on the same soil, and under the same sky, they clashed and blended, in strife and suffering, with the Normans. In their own country the Germans also did blend with Hungarians, Bohemians, and Slavs, but surely nowhere have people blended in the same explosion of passions that Germans and Romans have in Italy, for these two branches of the white family came to clash with such impetus of attraction and repulsion, that the elimination of the unfit and the compulsory evolution of the survivors must have touched the highest pitch conceivable by any stretch of imagination. This was bound to blossom into a very high civilisation, and so it did. If the heredity of past generations, particularly of those who have survived the horrors of the Thirty years' war, speaks to Mr. Chamberlain, he must feel that this is the dynamism which creates a new civilisation, and not the colour of either hair or eyes which are accidents of the surroundings, nor the shape of the skull, which is long with the go-ahead Northerners—Prussians, Scandinavians, and English—as well as with the slow-going Southerners—Sicilians, Sardinians, Spaniards and North Africans. And history also says that, however good the effects of a blending may be, they cannot last for ever, and so it is that whilst Italy was dying with the agony of second rank men such as Bruno, Campanella, etc., Germany was dying with the melodies of the Masters Singers. Then the Thirty years' war broke out in Germany, and a period of new invasions opened for Italy which have rejuvenated in both countries energies and ideals. Thus thrice on the fair soil of Italy this blending of different nationalities has taken place with suffering that God only knows, but each time a new civilisation was born. Rome stood for universalism, mediæval Italy stood for individualism against Romanism, then represented by the Church, and Modern Italy, which stands

for the political equilibrium of Europe. What that equilibrium will lead to I will leave it for Mr. Chamberlain to guess, the superman who thinks that Italy is dying for want of ideals!

VIII.

I have little or no doubt that under the pressure of her ruling classes and the inspiration of sickly intellectualists as the ones above referred to, Prussia at the head of the Germanic confederation, was preparing to repeat at the expense of Italy, Austria and France that very game which many centuries before Rome at the head of the Latin Confederation, played at the expense of the Osco-Sabellians, the Etruscans, the Celts and the Greeks—namely, to conquer them before proceeding to fight England, the Carthage of our days, for the command of the seas. I repeat that I have little doubt that Prussia meant this because the people of Europe—Germany leading—derive their inspiration from the experience of the past, and under the guidance of that experience in accord with a life-instinct which projects itself into the eternity, their march forward is not a blundering on, but a steady rising from one civilisation to an ever higher one. In the present case, however, Germany's game was to be frustrated for many reasons, but principally:

Because of France. France is the oldest nation in Europe, her birth-date coinciding with the invasions of the Franks in the Fifth Century. Without renewing her blood and her mentality in more strife and suffering as Germany and Italy were compelled to, France gradually rose to that political unity which is the first step towards Nationalism. We know that in the case of Turkey, Poland, Spain, and England Nationalism went no further than this, but in the case of France Nationalism went further than the mere political unity, no doubt because her geographical position does not afford her the same degree of protection that the insularity or peninsularity in the case of the other nations do. Thus practically France—although neither to perfection—has

represented two civilisations, namely Individualism, from the invasions of the Franks up to the XV Century when political unity was attained, and Nationalism thenceforward. It is on account of this that France has been allowed to live a longer life than any other nation in Europe. No sooner that political unity was attained than France entered into rivalry with Spain for military glory. This caused both nations to pour their armies—the best blood of the country—into Germany and Italy where a new man was thus given birth to, new in blood and in mind, the bearer of a new civilisation. Indeed nature seems to have allotted to France and Spain a special duty, that of rejuvenating with their blood the nations of Central Europe, and to comply with it we know that France and Spain have bled themselves to death. What so many military expeditions did not the persecutions and the revolutions did. Spain went down in consequence and France is following her. But France, like Spain, should be allowed to die a natural death, for France will give her last drop of blood and her last penny in the interest of the race as she has done in the past. Old and exhausted as France is Germany may be sure that Gaul will not give in, not only because the instinct of defence is stronger than that of attack, but also because a nation which has represented a high civilisation as France has cannot sink but before the rising of a higher civilisation.

Because of Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary is nothing but the very Holy Roman Empire which has survived itself. With one plunge Prussia has shifted the centre of the Empire from Vienna to Berlin and ever since Austria must distrust Germany, and so she does. Austria distrusts Italy too, although Italy is more likely to prove Austria's best friend. The sooner the two nations realise this the better for both. However disinclined the different nationalities of the Empire may be to bear one another away yet they will not easily part company with, for the moment they do so quite a different tune will be set

for them to dance to. The old House of the Habsburg is a moral factor of great importance in keeping the Empire together, and under the guidance of that House Austria will remain what she really is: a buffer state against advancing pangermanism.

Because of Italy. Italy is the youngest of all nations in Europe, so young indeed that according to the military records the new generation is growing in height and chest-development. The whole nation may be likened to a man twenty years old in the north, fifteen years old in the centre, and but ten years old in the south. This is Italy's third reincarnation. The modern Italian was born in the blending of the old Romo-Germanic stock with French, Spanish, Hungarian, Croat and more Germanic invaders after a painful incubation which lasted from the beginning of the Sixteenth Century up to the end of the Eighteenth Century. His near forefathers—Germanic Italy—stood for Individualism against Universalism then represented by the Church of Rome; his remote forefathers stood for Nationalism as long as the Republic lasted, and for Universalism under the Empire. What will the grandchild stand for? The wheels of nature are not made to roll back, but forward only, hence the modern Italian must stand for something higher than either Individualism or Nationalism which are civilisations long gone by in the history of his country. What that something is will soon be understood if we consider that, after all, nations are not what they wish to be but what their geography meant them to be, because the geography by throwing people of different stock against one another and thus compelling them to blend in strife and suffering creates a heredity, and heredity as we know is the next factor in the framing of a nation's destiny. Thus if Germany nowadays leads in Europe she may thank for it her geographical position which lays her open to the attacks of her neighbours, because in consequence of those attacks she has been compelled to rise above Individualism to Nationalism, which practically means transferring the test of the natural

selection from the stomach to the brains. In a like manner if Italy became the world's centre it is because on account of her geographical position, different races from Asia and from Africa met and blended there under the leadership of Rome. This gave birth to a new type of man capable of great achievement. The Mediterranean in Rome's days was the world's centre. Italy being in the centre of the Mediterranean was forced to fight Carthage for the command of that sea, and when she succeeded she found herself ipso facto at the head of the world. The same reasoning applies to Greece. But Rome could not be the world's centre without abandoning her national policy for a cosmopolitan one, and this explains why Rome gradually came to stand for a universal idea. Romanism means Universalism. But nature admits of no jumps and to rise from Nationalism to Universalism without first passing through Individualism as Rome did is against the laws of the social evolution. Rome's work was to be undone and gone through all over again. It was for Germany to undo that work by the means of Goths, Longbards and Franks, who took possession of Italy and grafted into the degenerate Romans the instincts of Individualism. Thus Individualism was pressed on Italy by Germany and in a like manner Romanism was pressed on Germany by the Church. The antagonism between two such opposite principles—Individualism and Romanism—led in Germany to the Thirty Years' War, and in Italy to three centuries of invasions. Upon emerging from that war and from those invasions with blood and mentality renewed Germany gradually rose to Nationalism, but Italy who could not go back to Nationalism began to feel her way towards the long-lost path of her forefathers—Universalism. Thus Romanism is again to the fore. The heredity of past generations survives in the modern Italian. But there is one difference. Romanism now stands for something definite. Romanism means Racialism. This is what the grandchild of Rome and Germanic Italy stands for, namely for a further broadening and strengthening of the social bond to the best interest of the whole race. Once again then, Ger-

many and Italy find themselves at a different level of the social evolution, hence the antagonism. In the present case, however, the distance between the two nations is not so great as when Germanism meant Individualism and Romanism meant an undefined Racialism. Moreover, that distance is becoming every day less as Socialism advances in Germany, for Socialism is nothing else but Racialism, and under the circumstances the antagonism between Germany and Italy is more apparent than real. Italy is Germany's ally, but Italy is duty-bound to see that the equilibrium of Europe is not disturbed, for it is from that equilibrium that sooner or later Racialism must evolve—the civilisation Italy stands for. To maintain that equilibrium Italy is developing a strong army, and as long as the selfishness of the ruling classes in Germany is not put a stop to, that army will always be ready to strengthen Austria's or France's position against pangermanic parasitism.

Because of Russia. Although Russia is too backward in her social evolution to understand racialism—Russia is still under the aristocratic regime—yet she realises fully well that if Germany were allowed to annex the German-speaking people of Austria and the Low Germans of Northern Europe, then nobody could prevent her from marching next straight to Saloniki or Constantinople if she wanted. And why should she not want it if her destiny is to expand in Asia Minor? Then Russia could not sail out of the Baltic into the Northern Sea or out of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean without passing under Germany's guns. It is sufficient to think of this—without taking into consideration the fate of the Slavs in the Balkans—to realise that Russia cannot allow the present equilibrium of Europe to be altered without herself being turned into an hinterland at the mercy of Germany.

IX.

The attitude of the four nations just mentioned—France, Austria, Italy and Russia—could not fail to convince the ruling classes in Germany that, should they dare to expand on the Continent, such a

war would follow as to amount to national suicide for all, but more so for Germany, to the advantage of the *tertiū gaudentes* as in the good old days. Now, when a nation is daily confronted with the risk of a war which amounts to a national suicide, if there is any life in her that life is bound to assert itself and ultimately to prevail. A couple of illustrations will show what I mean.

I presume that by this time my reader—whoever he may be—must know that the writer of these lines is an Italian, and therefore he will pardon me if I go to Italy for an example to illustrate the point at issue. In the year 1896 Italy was beaten in Abyssinia. This is a fact known the world over. The Government of the day, or rather Crispi the then Premier, wanted to push the war to the bitter end in order to avenge the national honour, the dignity of the flag, the pride of the race, etc., etc., and had arranged for 100,000 men to be sent to Abyssinia, and for £40,000,000, or more if necessary, to be spent in that piratical enterprise. But the workers at home, on becoming aware of the sacrifice that was demanded of them, revolted, and under the pressure of that revolt the Government recoiled. Crispi resigned, there followed a change of Government, and the expedition to Abyssinia was allowed to drop. How many in those days have thought of the Italians that they are a lot of cowards? Probably the whole world. And yet few words will suffice to show that the whole world was mistaken. My reader will agree with me that in any case it would be better for him to lose a finger rather than an arm, and an arm rather than the head. This is so in accord with the instinct for the preservation of self as to demand no explanation. Likewise a nation does when the natural selection with her is made on the instinct for the preservation of the social body, for the sharpening of that instinct gives a nation a clear intuition of present dangers as well as of future ones. In 1896 Italy was like a lad striving to grow, nationalistic by force of circumstances, but with her eyes fixed on racialism, and could not bleed herself of men and money with-

out endangering her future development and that equilibrium which it is her duty to maintain, as well as the condition *sine qua non* of her existence. In plain speaking, Italy in 1896 could not afford the luxury of a colonial expansion. It was a mistake of her rulers to have thought of it, because thus the nation was left no other alternative but to go forward and thus bleed herself to a dangerous extent, or go back and thus lay herself open to the criticism of the world. The nation determined to go back, but certainly not out of fear as the world then thought, but because a prophetic intuition of dangers ahead gave her the moral force to put the criticism of the world behind and reserve her blood and her money for greater and nobler things in the near future, when the world will realise that to go back is sometimes wiser than to go forward. However, to show that no ruler is allowed to trifle with the honour of a nation, even when that nation is too young to fully control her own destiny, the fact may be pointed out that all the authors of that catastrophe have long been dead. King Humbert was killed. General Baratieri could not stand for long the silent anathema of his countrymen, and Crispi, who on account of his Albanian origin—not Germanic origin as a German intellectualist said—could not understand the mind and the heart of his nation, which are to be found respectively in the north and centre, whereas he was born in the south, died forgotten by everybody. Crispi was individualistic, and individualistic is any man whose heart and mind are so full of self as to think that he can stand above the nation, above the world. The social instincts with such a man are as rudimentary as those of the wild beasts of Africa whom he resembles even by the fact that he preys upon his fellow men without having the knowledge of it. If a man like this happens to run a daily paper or to write a book, it is not to improve the mentality of his readers that he will do so, but only to poison it with that very individualism which fills his heart and his mind as the intellectualists in Germany do, and if he hap-

pens to be a ruler, then his influence will be really sinister, for such a man cannot understand the position of the nation he represents in connection with all other nations, and consequently he cannot help rushing headlong like an infuriated bullock where a coloured rag is displayed before his eyes. Woe to a nation who does not know how to guard herself against such men! Crispi was a ruler of this sort, and J. Chamberlain is another one. This compels me to recall, by way of contrast, another episode of modern history before I come to the point. It was in 1898, I think, when J. Chamberlain, then Minister of the Colonies, sent France an *ultimatum* over the Fashoda incident. France recoiled, and England said, "Very well, Chamberlain!" for England likes a strong man. But two or three years later England was in the throes of the Boer war, and France, who rightly smarted under old and new humiliations, took advantage of the opportunity and asked Germany to co-operate with her and Russia to foil England back. The price? Alsace and Lorena. Germany refused, but ever since Germany has been building, and after her example, all nations are building Dreadnoughts, because what France intended to do in 1900 will be done on a larger scale, this time under Germany's leadership. Who does not see a connection between the Fashoda incident, France's advancements to Germany in 1900, and what is going on now? And yet nobody had seen it till but a few years ago. Surely England is not gifted with a prophetic intuition of future dangers, for if she were that very Chamberlain who is largely responsible for all this, would not be looked upon now as a national hero! No, England is not gifted with a prophetic intuition of future dangers, because England is individualistic, and individualism implies a natural selection on the instinct for the preservation of the individual, not that the nation.

X.

It is not so with Germany; far from it. Germany is nationalistic through and through, and no nation which makes her natural selection on the instinct for the preservation of the social body, as Germany

does, can go so astray in life as to commit suicide by sending *ultimatums* right and left, as England did when Chamberlain was in power. Prince Bulow, who at the time of the Morocco imbroglio went too far in rattling the old sword, has been compelled to pretend a fit in full Reichstag, and Mr Holstein, the old bureaucrat, who wanted the war against France, at all cost, is now, with Prince Bulow, a private citizen. No, Germany cannot, will not, shall not make war on Europe, for she knows pretty well that if she does she would come out of it no better than Napoleon the Great. It is the instinct for the preservation of the social body which tells her that she must not, and whoever goes against that instinct is sure, one way or the other, to be cashiered like Crispi and King Humbert. And moreover, why should Germany try and expand at the expense of nations such as Austria and Italy, who too are in want of expansion? And could really the Hohenzollerns contribute in the destruction of the venerable Houses of Habsburg and Savoy without paving the way to their own destruction? And does the Kaiser, do the ruling classes know with certainty what effect would have on the future of a Protestant country like Germany, the annexation of the Catholic subjects now in Austria? For this and many other reasons we have seen that, the more the ruling classes in Germany have insisted upon expanding on the Continent, and the more the workers, who are the real backbone of the nation, have emphatically declared that, in case of war, they would strike, they would not fight, they would shoot, not at the enemy, but at their officers instead. No sophism of the intellectualists, no exhortation from the Kaiser, no fear of punishment could make them depart from the position they had taken. Thus, after twenty years spent in preparing for her defence, and as many more spent in preparing for an attack on Europe, Germany finds herself, without knowing how, in a pass that has no way out. A similar condition of things obtains in France, Austria and Italy, with the result that no nation on the Continent

dares to move or do anything except standing on its own defence. But here again the workers, who on the Continent represent the eternal motion of matter and thought, come forward and logically point out that the national army, as well as the protective tariffs, have complied with the main object they were created for, that of defending the social body and of protecting the industries in their infancy, and should now gradually be reduced and finally dispensed with. Thus, much to their regret, the ruling classes are forced to realise every day more, that the army and the tariffs—the two institutions they care most for—will not be allowed to become permanent fixtures on the nation. The army must go and so must the tariffs, because the pressure within will tolerate neither. What to do? When a nation is forced to change the drift she has followed hitherto there is a moment of suspense, something like a pause similar to that the athlete takes before executing a somersault. In the case of England the transition from the internal growth—centralisation—to the expansion abroad—decentralisation—has not been effected without much hesitation, for a nation is slow in adapting herself to the ever-changing conditions of the surroundings, which are the work of the natural forces. As with England, so it is with Germany. It appears, however, that Germany has finally determined to yield to the work of the natural forces, for a great change has taken place lately in her foreign policy. It will be rather difficult for my reader to come to my way of thinking, but the following quotations will help him somewhat:—

The "Spectator" for January 16th, 1897, had an article which ran as follows:—"The German flag is everywhere. But on the declaration of war the whole of Germany's trading ships would be at our mercy. . . . Meantime, that German competition in the neutral markets which is so deplored by our merchants would cease to exist. We should hear no more of Germany getting command of the Japanese and Chinese markets. The prospect of Germany being fined a couple of hundred millions and losing her colo-

nies and her prestige, political and commercial, would by no means be regarded by the Powers as something to be prevented at all costs."

An article in the "Saturday Review" for September 11th, 1897, expressed the same sentiments:—"A million petty disputes build up the greatest cause of war the world has ever seen. If Germany were extinguished to-morrow, the day after to-morrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be the richer. . . . Hambourg and Bremen, the Kiel Canal and the Baltic ports would lie under the guns of England waiting until the indemnity were settled. But when our work is done we can say to France and Russia: Seek compensation for yourselves in Germany."

A great many papers, particularly the "National Review" and "The Times," have voiced this same policy since 1901, till Balfour regarded it as his duty to endeavour to stem the tide. Balfour's efforts, however, had no good effect. The "Army and Navy Gazette" for 1904, on the occasion of the Dogger Bank affair, said that the German navy was now the sole menace to the peace of Europe, and the "Daily Chronicle" endorsed these very sentiments with the following words: "If the German navy had been destroyed in October, 1904, we would have had sixty years of peace in Europe."

These and like expressions, which could be multiplied many times, must have gone some length toward convincing Germany that, by hostilising Europe, she was working her own destruction. There can be no doubt about it. A war against France or Austria at any time would mean a war against the whole of Europe, and such a war would be disastrous to Germany, even if Germany were successful, for the spirit of revolt, particularly in young nations with a glorious past, such as Italy, could never be quelled altogether. The straining of a never-ending war would have broken the discipline of the German army; England would have supported the oppressed nationalities of Europe with all her might, as she did against Napoleon, and not even a single merchant-

ship or a man-of-war would be left on the sea which Germany might call her own. What would have been the final result of such war but a general disgust and, at the end, a revolt of the public conscience and the establishment of a huge republic on the Continent free from all sort of parasitism? Surely that German *intelligentia* which prides itself with deriving its inspiration from history falls far short of its reputation this time. It is true that history repeats itself, but with due allowances to the circumstances of space and time. Twenty centuries ago the confederation of the *Italic gentes*, under the leadership of Rome, proved sufficient to conquer the world, but the confederation of the *Germanic gentes*, under the leadership of Prussia, will not prove sufficient to attain the same goal now that the world has grown many times larger since Rome's days. To a higher goal a greater confederation. Germany is hard to realise that life is a struggle for the broadening and strengthening of the social bond, for it is too evident that the ideal of her ruling classes is that of creating on the continent—by the means of an eternal compulsory military service and an eternal system of protective tariffs—a parasitism similar to that the nations at the periphery have once established at the expense of those in the centre. Surely the true pangermanist, like the true Briton, must think that life is a game and that the time has arrived for him to have the best of it in the old-fashioned way. But life is not a game. Life is a duty. There is a call attached to the position which nature has allotted to Germany in the very heart of the Continent, and Europe's staying power, the rising of Socialism, and England's commercial antagonism will make her understand what that call is.

But signs are not wanting to the effect that Germany has already understood the call of Nature. For those who can read between the lines an understanding has been arrived at, lately, between the leading nations of Europe. This understanding has one object: that of directing the surplus population of Central Europe into Morocco, Egypt, and Asia Minor,

where new nations will soon rise under the flags of France, Italy and Germany.

XI.

But this is not all. Nature has given England a right over the best lands where the white man can live and prosper. But Nature has also given England the duty of settling those lands with the surplus population of Central Europe, for ownership means stewardship. Had England done this in time, as it was in her power to do, Germany would still be an agricultural country, England's friend. England failed to comply with this duty, hence the consequences. In the last forty years the population of Germany has increased to such an extent that the land alone could certainly not support it. Only the industries could. Thus Germany has been compelled to become an industrial nation, England's rival. But Germany cannot trade with the world without bowing to England's guns on the Channel. This means that Germany's life is practically at the mercy of England. It is sufficient to think of this to realise that the antagonism between England and Germany is the antagonism between old Rome and old Carthage, there is not room enough in the world for the two nations. Yet, at no time can England attack Germany now that Germany is supported by Europe, without the risk of losing, at once, all she possesses in the four quarters of the world. Under the circumstances England's best policy is to stand on her own defence and watch the great drama marching to its catastrophe more or less in the following manner:—

I. Act.—A radico-Socialist party will grasp the political power after the next election or the following ones in Germany, as it has already in France, and it will soon have in Italy.

II. Act.—Free-trade will be adopted among such nations on the Continent who have reached the same standard of industrial development and can rely on freight-expenses as a sufficient protection for their industries.

III. Act.—The confederation of Europe will be proclaimed and hailed amid the greatest enthusiasm throughout the Continent.

IV. Act.—The national armies will begin to be transformed into colonial armies after the example of England and America. In the case of Europe, however, this transformation will come about only slowly because of Russia's backwardness which is a menace to Democracy and particularly to Germany. But Germany in her own interests will see that the international bond is cemented till Europe will be what nature has meant her to be: a huge Switzerland.

IV. Act.—A tremendous revolution will break out in Russia. The aristocracy there will soon be powerless to hold in check the forces which make for redemption. Blood will flow. Democratic Europe will interfere. Russia will be invaded, and the old Kingdom of Poland restored under the sway of a Hohenzollern and admitted into the confederation. After this the reduction of the national armies will be carried to a further point.

All this will occur within few years, five or ten at most. But the drama of mankind is a never ending one, and so it is that there will always be something behind.

Europe is like a giant whose main body—France, Germany and Austria-Hungary—is supported by three legs: the Iberic, the Italic and the Balkan peninsulas. Of these three legs the most westerly one has carried the civilisation into America and now is dead. The time has arrived for the middle and eastern legs to carry the civilisation into Africa and Asia Minor. The civilisation must go back whence it came now that it has no further duty to comply in the American Continent. The Ottoman Empire must be destroyed. The Mussulmans who entered Europe in the XIVth century at the point of the sword must be driven out at the point of the sword, and out of Asia, too. Their long career on the Continent is one of crimes, of oppression, and of blood without parallel. They are the minority, they are ignorant, they are indolent, they speak a language which has

no literature and, I think, no grammar, and yet they exploit and pretend to press this language over Christian communities whom a prolonged martyrdom have well fit to become worthy members of the European confederation. The Turk must march out of Europe stick and bag, used to say Gladstone, the best mouthpiece of the English Democracy, and what Democratic England meant to do, Democratic Europe will give effect to, because it is through the Balkans that the main body of the giant—Germany and Austria-Hungary—will walk into Asia Minor.

There is something more still. While Germany will undertake to give birth to a new Germany in Asia Minor, in the blending of all the nationalities of Europe, and Italy will undertake to do the same in the valley of the Nile, France, with her customary impetuosity, will plunge into her Morocco enterprise. But France has no blood to spare. Moreover, relieved as France will be, then, of the only tonic which now keeps her alive—the fear of Germany—she will collapse. Crimes, revolts, and anarchy will mark the end of this nation whose principal duty seems to have been that of acting the part of an alarming clock whilst Europe was fast asleep. Here, too, the confederation will interfere to restore order, first, and then to supply the new blood which will be necessary to rejuvenate old Gaul. Who is to supply that blood?—Germany. Who is to bear the brunt when Russia will be invaded?—Germany. Who must spare the tens of millions which will be necessary to repeople the vast plains of the Euphrates, Persia and Afghanistan up to the Indian frontiers?—Germany. Always Germany! Fortunately that Germany can recoup herself of the millions whom she is called upon to spare in the interest of civilisation by drawing freely on the Slavonic market as Prussia did in the past, and good for her, too, because her intellectualists are already betokening signs of mental crystallization. Struggling, suffering and intermingling are the three factors of the eternal evolution, but whilst struggling and suffering after the old fashion are coming to an end on the

Continent, the third factor—intermingling—will come to an end only with the world. Struggling and suffering on the Continent have always meant war and destruction, and as long as there will be something in Europe that must be destroyed, so long Germany will lead because Germany is the only nation which can organise the forces of Europe towards that end. But fifty years hence or much sooner than this, when a new Renaissance will begin to dawn in England, Russia, France and the Balkans and not the sword, but heart and mind, will count most in life, then it will not be Germany that will lead or the Continent, but another nation: Italy. "Italian genius," says Francis Grierson, whose contributions in *The New Age* are a treat from all points of view, "is round and full like the domes of Florence and Rome, it is the fullest genius the world has ever known." "It is knowledge and culture the Italians seek, not academical titles, social position and precedence." "I regard Italy as the place where thinkers and philosophers will sift the wheat from the chaff in the critical process now going on, and where the best will be made to survive." "If I were asked in what country the social movement is going to bear the best fruits, Italy would be my answer. The social changes occurring here will develop more and more than ever the native genius of this wonderful race, and give both the race and the genius new opportunities for individual efforts, new inspirations that may surpass anything yet known in Italy." The following are Prof. William James' expressions:—"Italy is engaged in the peaceful throes of an intellectual Renaissance quite as vigorous as her political one; the ancient genius of her people is unweakened." "The Italian thinkers manifest a refreshing spontaneity, brevity and impertinence." Prof. Herron says: "If the universal catastrophe will come from America the world's Renaissance will come from Italy." And again Fr. Grierson: "When the social upheaval comes the world, without Italy, might lapse into barbarism,

lacking the basic principle of repose and harmony which at present is only to be found on Italian soil."

XII.

The actuation of the above programme—the drama of mankind—is subject to one condition only: that the Socialists should grasp the political power in Germany. But will the Socialists grasp that power? I have no doubt that they will for the following reason. It was previously stated that all nations go through an aristocratic, a middle-class and a democratic regime, but with equal reason the three regimes might well be called respectively: agricultural, industrial and democratic. In fact, we know that England has been an agricultural nation throughout the aristocratic regime, and that the industrial development began only soon after the advent of the middle class into power. How did democracy become a fact in England? It became a fact when town and country came to clash, namely, when the lords of the industries, in order to increase the wages of the workers at the expense of the lords of the land, proposed and carried out the repeal of the corn laws, and thus made England a free-trading country. As with England so it will be with Germany. Already town and country are pit against each other in Germany because the agrarians, who still hold the political power, make the industries pay for the upkeep of the army and navy, and so they will continue to do as long as they hold that power. Under the circumstances the Socialists need only to throw in their lot with the lords of the industries, the so-called radicals, as the workers did in England towards the middle of last century, and democracy will follow as a natural consequence. This is what the Socialists will do at the next elections or the following ones in Germany. The compromise will be on these terms: repeal of the corn laws, free trade among those nations who have reached equal economical standard, less army expenditure, more navy expenditure, and expansion into Africa and Asia. Of course this is not Socialism, but only Democracy. True. But Socialism is a dream, the

same as Militarism is a nightmare. Militarism and Socialism—the force of oppression and the force that makes for redemption—are excesses grown out of the high pressure the nations of Europe, and Germany in particular, do labour under, and both must die out. Democracy is the only reality. But democracy means free trade, free trade means disarmament, and disarmament means confederation, brotherhood, etc. This is what democracy ultimately means. The confederation of North America is a Democracy because the various States of the Union are bound together with the double bond of free trade and disarmament. As with the confederation of North America, so it will be with the confederation of Europe, of the South American continent, of the whole American continent some day, and later on of Europe and America, and ultimately of the whole world. This is the way Mankind will march to universal brotherhood, by free trade and disarmament stretching from the nearest nations to the remotest ones. It is a pity that England is threatening to revert to protectionism now that Democracy is about to rise on the Continent. Why does England threaten to revert to protectionism? Because England has persistently ignored Germany's scientific progress till that progress has not materialised in trade competition, and lately, in Dreadnoughts. "We are self-sufficient," the Briton says, and the whole nation lives by this strange doctrine! The fact is that no nation is self-sufficient. A bond binds all nations together, and the one who parts company with the rest will not be admitted to the family circle the day she wishes she could.

But the time has arrived for me to epitomise, so to speak, my lengthy articles in the following sentences:—

1. That in the light of history all nations are born in consequence of two or more stocks blending in strife and suffering for the elimination of the unfit and the compulsory evolution of the survivors, and die when the energies derived therefrom—heredity—become exhausted.

2. That in the light of history that heredity be-

comes exhausted within a period which ranges from seven to ten centuries.

3. That judging by the mental alertness of the Jews we must admit that suffering is an important factor of social progress, no doubt because suffering hastens the elimination of the unfit and compels the survivors to create science, art and music for the redemption of mankind.

4. That from the moment a nation is born the elimination of the unfit and the evolution of the survivors go on till a maximum of efficiency is reached when all obstacles are overcome and the expansion abroad follows.

5. That the life of a nation may therefore be divided into two periods, one for the broadening and strengthening of the social bond within—learning—and another for the broadening and strengthening of the social bond without—teaching.

6. That from the moment a nation starts to teach she develops the swelled head, and goes down with it.

7. That the three stages a nation goes through—aristocracy, middle class and democracy—are the work of the social forces struggling after the satisfaction of their ambition.

8. That the social evolution in the case of Poland, Turkey and Spain has halted at the aristocratic regime, but even then the middle and the lower classes—the vulgar below—have met with the satisfaction of their ambition in the way that was consented then and there—i.e., in the practice of a free lust and a freebooting abroad.

9. That all the invasions which have enforced the law of evolution based on struggling, suffering and intermingling, and have therefore destroyed old civilisations and created new ones, radiated once, from Germany into England, Gaul, Spain and Italy—i.e., from the centre towards the periphery—200-500 A.D.—and once from Turkey, Spain, France, Russia, Denmark and Sweden into Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and the Balkans—i.e., from the periphery towards the centre—1400-1800 A.D.—The former de-

stroyed the old Roman Empire and gave birth to Individualism at the periphery of Europe; the latter destroyed the Holy Roman Empire and gave birth to Nationalism in Central Europe.

10. That the Thirty Years' War was for Germany the tomb of Individualism and the cradle of Nationalism.

11. That on account of the protection which Nature affords them, the nations at the periphery of Europe have leaned more and more on their Individualism and went down with it—Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Holland, etc.

12. That England, the most peripheric of all nations in Europe, has been allowed every chance to reach democracy as she has.

13. That democracy is the last stage of the national evolution—Greece, Rome, Florence, etc.

14. That individualism and nationalism are anti-thetic because individualism has individual rights as a starting point and wealth as a finality, whereas nationalism has social duties as a starting point and science as a finality.

15. That individualism implies a natural selection on the test of an instinct which man has in common with the lower animals—the instinct for the preservation of self.

16. That a natural selection on the test of an instinct which man has in common with the lower animals practically means a natural selection on the test of the stomach, and such natural selection is bound to lead to that very parasitism the lower animals are ruled by, and to the survival of those who, without a victim to prey upon, could not live—i.e., the parasites. Individualism is no bond. It is the first step up the ladder to perfection.

17. That nationalism, implying, as it does, a natural selection on the test of an instinct which requires a social organisation of a high order—the instinct for the preservation of the social body—must lead to the survival, not of the parasites as individualism does, but of the mentally fit because only the mentally fit can organise the defence of the social body.

Nationalism is a bond. Its natural selection on the test of the brain leads to the enfolding of the mind and to the improvement of the race. Nationalism is the second step up the ladder to perfection.

18. That racialism, implying, as it does, a natural selection on the test of an instinct which requires a social organisation of the highest order—the instinct for the preservation of the race—must lead to the blending of the different nationalities of Europe for the procreation of a new type of man, the real superman of the future, and to the survival of the best both in heart and mind. Racialism is by far a greater bond than nationalism. It is the third step up the ladder to perfection.

19. That individualism, nationalism and racialism are nothing else but three types of civilisations based on the natural selection of one of the three instincts: for the preservation of self, of the nation, and of the race.

20. That each type of civilisation is the work, not of the people, but of the surroundings.

21. That Italy will be at one with herself only when racialism will be reached.

22. That Germany, whom Nature has squeezed between the great nations of Europe, has been compelled, in self-defence, to rise from individualism to nationalism.

23. That Germany, whose trade—her very life—depends on the good will of England, who commands the Channel, is now compelled, also in self-defence, to rise from nationalism to racialism, and to become the champion of democracy on the Continent.

24. That by crowding on the Continent of Europe many different nationalities, Nature has meant that the enforcement of the law of evolution, based on struggling, suffering and intermingling for the elimination of the unfit and the compulsory evolution of the survivors, should never be suspended till man, rising from individualism to nationalism, to racialism and to mankind would have attained the perfection of an angel, next to God.

24591

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